

<u>CERTIFIED MAIL</u> <u>RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED</u>

MAY 3 1 2011

Erin Hill ActBlue 14 Arrow Street Cambridge, MA 02138

RE: MUR 6390

Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn, in his official capacity

as treasurer

Dear Ms. Hill:

On May 24, 2011, the Federal Election Commission reviewed the allegations in your complaint dated September 28, 2010, and found that on the basis of the information provided in your complaint, and information provided by the respondents, there is no reason to believe the Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b) and 441a(a). Accordingly, on May 24, 2011, the Commission closed the file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which more fully explains the Commission's findings, is enclosed.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

Sincerely,

Christopher Hughey Acting General Counsel

BY: Peter G. Blumberg

Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure

Factual and Legal Analysis

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

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4 RESPONDENT: Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn, MUR: 6390 in his official capacity as treasurer

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I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") by Erin Hill, Executive Director of ActBlue. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1). The complaint in this matter alleges that the Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry Wynn, in his official capacity as treasurer, ("SCF") made excassive contributions to ten different Senate candidates when it exercised direction and control over earmarked contributions that it had solicited. The complaint alleges that SCF's exercise of direction and control over the subject contributions made the contributions dually attributable to both the original individual contributors and to SCF as the conduit. Specifically, complainant states that SCF's use of an "easy button" on its webpage, which unequally apportioned a contribution among the available candidates, prevented contributors from choosing which candidates to support or the level of support; instead, these decisions were allegedly left to SCF. Insofar as SCF acted as a conduit for more than \$3 million in contributions during the 2010 election cycle, SCF allegedly violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making excessive contributions to these ten candidates. The attribution of these "easy button" contributions to SCF would also result in SCF violating 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) by failing to report those contributions. SCF states in its response that the "easy button" only suggested a possible division of the

contribution at the contributor's request, and the contribution system then required the donor either to edit the suggested contribution amounts or accept the suggested division before

- completing the contribution process. Therefore, SCF states that these controls in the "easy
- 2 button" contribution allocation system prevented its exercise of improper direction or control
- 3 over contributions.
- A review of the information provided regarding how the SCF contribution system worked
- 5 indicates that choosing to use the "easy button" did not result in SCF exercising direction or
- 6 control over contributions. Therefore, the Commission found no reason to believe that the
- 7 Sennte Conservatives Fund violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended
- 8 ("the Act").

II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Factual Summary

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South Carolina Senator Jim DeMint established the Senate Conservatives Fund as a

"political action committee dedicated to electing strong conservatives to the United States

Senate." See the SCF website, (http://senateconservatives.com/site/about, last visited February

24, 2011.) For the 2010 election cycle, SCF encouraged earmarked contributions to ten Senate

candidates. See Complaint Attachment 1, a screenshot of the front page of the contributions

portion of the SCF website.

The SCF website appears to have been a major source of the erganization's furdraising.

The website's contributions page displayed photos of the ten candidates along with text

indicating the Senate race involved and a blank box for entering contribution amounts. See

21 Complaint Attachment 1. A contributor could elect to contribute to the ten candidates in one of

two ways. A contributor could enter his/her own contribution amounts for some or all of the

23 SCF-supported candidates by typing amounts in the provided boxes. Alternatively, the

- 1 contributor could enter a single desired contribution amount into a separate box and click an
- 2 "easy button" that would make an automatic suggested apportionment of the contribution. SCF's
- response stated that the "easy button's" apportionment among the ten candidates "achieve[d]
- 4 maximum impact based on recent polling, candidate fundraising, and other factors." Response at
- 5 ¶ 2. If a contributor selected the "easy button" option, the website proposed unequal contribution
- amounts in the boxes next to the candidates, depending on the candidates' needs, likelihood of
- 7 wirming, etc. It appears that choosing the "easy button" allocated at least some of the
- 8 contribution to each of the ten candidates. See Response Attachment 1, a screenshot of a
- 9 potential "easy button" allocation (in which every candidate was allocated at least \$1 of a \$100
- 10 contribution).
- The complainant alleges, "upon information and belief," that contributors using the "easy
- button" do not see or cannot control the apportionment of their contributions. Complaint at 1.
- 13 However, the response states that "the website ... allows the donor to edit the suggested
- 14 division..." Response at ¶ 3. A button at the bottom of the initial contribution screen invited
- contributors to "Complete Your Contribution." See Response Attachment 1. Clicking that
- button took contributors to the next page in the process, on which the photos of the candidates
- and the allocated contribution amounts for each were again displayed, and on which the
- 18 contributor entered name, contact information, and credit card information. See Response
- 19 Attachment 2, a screenshot of the contribution information page. The response states that
- 20 contributors could edit the amounts contributed to each candidate on this second page as well.
- 21 See Response at ¶ 3. The second page also invited the contributor to give an extra contribution to
- 22 SCF to "cover our costs and elect more conservatives," and included a donor agreement

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- 1 confirming that the funds were federally permissible funds. See Response Attachment 2. The
- 2 bottom of the screenshot of the second page is cut off in Attachment 2, but it appears that
- 3 confirming the donor agreement moved the contributor to the third page in the contribution
- 4 process. See Response Attachment 3, a screenshot of the contribution completion page. The
- 5 page provided at Attachment 3 displayed all the information the contributor entered, including
- 6 the total contribution, contributions by candidate, credit card information and contact
- 7 information. This page included a "Complete Your Donation" button, undermatin which is a link
- 8 asking "See a mistake? Click here to make changes." See id. Clicking the Complete Your
- 9 Donation button generated an e-mailed receipt, which detailed the contribution given to each
- candidate. See Response Attachment 4.

SCF's response states that "[t]he website ["easy button"] shows the donor how his/her contribution could be divided and allows the donor to edit the suggested division on not just the first page of the site, but also on the second page where the donor enters his/her personal information. The "easy button" is used to inform contributors as to which candidates have the greatest need, but it does not force them to do anything; and all donations are fully disclosed and capable of being edited and allocated however the donor chooses to do so." Response at ¶ 3, (emphosis in original). The response also included an affidavit from an SCF contributor and "easy button" user, Don Workman, who stated that he "appreciate[s] this ["easy button"] feature that allows me to decide the total amount I wish to contribute and then allows me to either divide equally the contributions to each candidate, allocate according to my own formula, or contribute

to candidates based on a suggested allocation. ... [T]his feature ... allows me to make

- contributions to several candidates in a much more convenient manner." See Response
- 2 Attachment 5 at $\P\P$ 4 and 5.

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B. Legal Analysis

- No multi-candidate PAC may contribute more than \$5,000 to any candidate and his or her
- 5 authorized political committee with respect to any election for federal office. 2 U.S.C.
- 6 §§ 441a(a)(2)(A). Any political committee other than an authorized committee must report all
- 7 expenditures, including contributions made to other political committees. 2 U.S.C.
- 8 § 434(b)(4)(H)(i). "A conduit's or intermediary's contribution limits are not affected by the
- 9 forwarding of an earmarked contribution except where the conduit or intermediary exercises any
- direction or control over the choice of the recipient candidate." 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(d)(1). Further,
- if the conduit does exercise direction or control over the choice of the recipient candidate, the
- contribution is considered a contribution from both the original contributor and the conduit, with
- the entire contribution amount attributed to each. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(d)(2).
- The term "direction or control" has not been specifically defined by the Commission. In
- AO 1980-46 (National Conservative PAC) ("NCPAC"), the Commission considered a PAC's
- plan to conduct a mass mailing soliciting earmarked contributions to a specific candidate, which
- 17 contributions were to be sent to NCPAC, bundled by NCPAC, and then delivered to the
- 18 candidate's committee. The Commission cited several factors that led it to conclude that
- 19 NCPAC did not exercise direction or control over the earmarked contributions flowing from its
- 20 solicitation, including: 1) the contributor, not NCPAC, made the choice whether to contribute to
- 21 the specified candidate, 2) the potential contributor could decide not to contribute, 3) NCPAC
- 22 did not have any significant control over the timing of contributions, 4) NCPAC did not have

others.

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- control over the amount of the contribution, and 5) NCPAC did not have control over the
- 2 intended recipient of the contribution because the contributions were solicited as checks made
- out to the candidate's committee. See AO 1980-46 (NCPAC) at 3.
- Applying these factors to the present matter indicates that SCF's use of the fundraising 4 "easy button" did not amount to the exercise of discretion or control over contributions as 5 contemplated by 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(d)(1). The information provided by SCF indicates that the 6 7 potential contributor could choose to contribute or not, could choose the timing and amount of any contribution, and could choose to which of SCF's recommended candidates he/she desired to 8 9 contribute or to simply make a contribution to SCF for its operating expenses. Regarding the "easy button," the information provided indicates that choosing to push the "easy button" 10 provided the contributor with a suggested apportionment of the contribution. However, the 11 12 contributor could then choose to accept the suggested allocations, change the allocations, or make contributions only to some of the candidates supported by SCF while not contributing to 13
 - The contributor had full knowledge of how the "easy button" apportioned the contribution, and the website offered the contributor multiple opportunities to review and/or alter the suggested contribution amounts. SCF only processed and distributed contributions after the contributor confirmed the "easy button" choices or made wanted changes. See Response at ¶ 5 and Attachments 1-4. Based on the information in the response, including the screen shots and the affidavit from Don Workman, an SCF "easy button" user, it appears that the "easy button" system did not give SCF "direction or control" over contributions.

- Accordingly, there is no reason to believe that the Senate Conservatives Fund and Barry
- Wynn, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) and 434(b) by exercising
- direction or control over contributors' contributions and failing to report the resulting
- 4 contributions.